

The truth of the matter is that being the Secretary of Defense for Bill Clinton was no easy task, especially in the first days of his administration. President Clinton wanted to end the ban on gays in the military, envisioned turning American troops over to the United Nations, cutting defense, and committing U.S. forces to various humanitarian and peacekeeping operation. As the man charged with implementing these policy objectives, Les had an uphill struggle from the time he stepped foot in the Pentagon. Given all the obstacles placed before him, Les did a commendable job of working for the defense of the United States.

Mr. President, Les Aspin was a man who was pleased to be able to serve his Nation and he worked hard in each endeavor he undertook. Some say his zeal for work is what killed him, but I prefer to think that he gave his heart for his Nation. We all appreciate the sacrifices and contributions that he made during his life and he will be missed by all those who knew him.

#### WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, on the evening I learned I had been elected to the Senate in 1972, one of the commitments I made to myself was that I would never fail to see a young person or a group of young people who wanted to see me. It was certainly beneficial to me that I did because I have been inspired by the estimated 60,000 young people with whom I have visited during the nearly 33 years I have been in the Senate.

Most of them have been concerned about the magnitude of the Federal debt that Congress has run up for the coming generations to pay. The young people and I always discuss the fact that under the Constitution, no President can spend even a dime of Federal money that has not first been authorized and appropriated by both the House and Senate of the United States.

That is why I have been making these daily reports to the Senate since February 22, 1992. I want to make it a matter of record precisely the size of the Federal debt which as of Wednesday, June 7, stood at \$4,902,043,504,916.54 or \$18,608.24 on a per capita basis.

What Congress has already done to future generations is immoral.

#### COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT HAVAL AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, earlier today, President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic received an honorary degree from Harvard and delivered the commencement address.

President Havel's address is an eloquent analysis of the human condition in our diverse, interdependent and increasingly technological world, where the greatest achievements of humanity can also lead to the greatest destruc-

tion. He speaks especially of the responsibility of politicians and the mass media to enhance respect for individuals and for other peoples, other nations, and other cultures, so that the discoveries of the modern age will be able to serve humanity, no destroy it. As he states, "Our conscience must catch up to our reason, otherwise we are lost."

I believe that President Havel's eloquent and thoughtful address will be of interest to all of us in Congress, and I ask unanimous consent that the prepared text of the address may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### ADDRESS BY VÁCLAV HAVEL

Mr. President, Mr. Vice-President, ladies and gentlemen. One evening not long ago I was sitting in an outdoor restaurant by the water. My chair was almost identical to the chairs they have in restaurants by the Vltava River in Prague. They were playing the same rock music they play in most Czech restaurants. I saw advertisements I'm familiar with back home. Above all, I was surrounded by young people who were similarly dressed, who drank familiar-looking drinks, and who behaved as casually as their contemporaries in Prague. Only their complexion and their facial features were different—for I was in Singapore.

I sat there thinking about this and again—for the umpteenth time—I realized an almost banal truth: that we now live in a single global civilization. The identity of this civilization does not lie merely in similar forms of dress, or similar drinks, or in the constant buzz of the same commercial music all around the world, or even in international advertising. It lies in something deeper: thanks to the modern idea of constant progress, with its inherent expansionism, and to the rapid evolution of science that comes directly from it, our planet has, for the first time in the long history of the human race, been covered in the space of a very few decades by a single civilization—one that is essentially technological. The world is now enmeshed in webs of telecommunication networks consisting of millions of tiny threads or capillaries that not only transmit information of all kinds at lightning speed, but also convey integrated models of social, political and economic behavior. They are conduits for legal norms, as well as for billions and billions of dollars, crisscrossing the world while remaining invisible even to those who deal directly with them. The life of the human race is completely interconnected not only in the informational sense, but in the causal sense as well. Anecdotically, I could illustrate this by reminding you—since I've already mentioned Singapore—that today all it takes is a single shady transaction initiated by a single devilish bank clerk in Singapore to bring down a bank on the other side of the world. Thanks to the accomplishments of this civilization, practically all of us know what cheques, bonds, bills of exchange, and stocks are. We are familiar with CNN and Chernobyl, and we know who the Rolling Stones, or Nelson Mandela, or Salman Rushdie are. More than that, the capillaries that have so radically integrated this civilization also convey information about certain modes of human co-existence that have proven their worth, like democracy, respect for human rights, the rule of law, the laws of the market-place. Such information flows around the world

and, in varying degrees, takes root in different places.

In modern times this global civilization emerged in the territory occupied by European and ultimately by Euro-American culture. Historically, it evolved from a combination of traditions—classical, Judaic and Christian. In theory, at least, it gives people not only the capacity for worldwide communication, but also a coordinated means of defending themselves against many common dangers. It can also, in an unprecedented way, make our life on this earth easier and open up to us hitherto unexplored horizons in our knowledge of ourselves and the world we live in.

And yet there is something not quite right about it.

Allow me to use this ceremonial gathering for a brief meditation on a subject which I have dwelt upon a great deal, and which I often bring up on occasions resembling this one. I want to focus today on the source of the dangers that threaten humanity in spite of this global civilization, and often directly because of it. Above all, I would like to speak about the ways in which these dangers can be confronted.

Many of the great problems we face today, as far as I understand them, have their origin in the fact that this global civilization, though in evidence everywhere, is no more than a thin veneer over the sum total of human awareness, if I may put it that way. This civilization is immensely fresh, young, new, and fragile, and the human spirit has accepted it with dizzying alacrity, without itself changing in any essential way. Humanity has evolved over long millennia in all manner of civilizations and cultures that gradually, and in very diverse ways, shaped our habits of mind, our relationship to the world, our models of behaviour and the values we accept and recognize. In essence, this new, single epidermis of world civilization merely covers or conceals the immense variety of cultures, of peoples, of religious worlds, of historical traditions and historically formed attitudes, all of which in a sense lie "beneath" it. At the same time, even as the veneer of world civilization expands, this "underside" of humanity, this hidden dimension of it, demands more and more clearly to be heard and to be granted a right to life.

And thus, while the world as a whole increasingly accepts the new habits of global civilization, another contradictory process is taking place: ancient traditions are reviving, different religions and cultures are awakening to new ways of being, seeking new room to exist, and struggling with growing fervour to realize what is unique to them and what makes them different from others. Ultimately they seek to give their individuality a political expression.

It is often said that in our time, every valley cries out for its own independence or will even fight for it. Many nations, or parts of them at least, are struggling against modern civilization or its main proponents for the right to worship their ancient gods and obey the ancient divine injunctions. They carry on their struggle using weapons provided by the very civilization they oppose. They employ radar, computers, lasers, nerve gases, and perhaps, in the future, even nuclear weapons—all products of the world they challenge—to help defend their ancient heritage against the erosions of modern civilization. In contrast with these technological inventions, other products of this civilization—like democracy or the idea of human rights—are not accepted in many places in the world because they are deemed to be hostile to local traditions.

In other words: the Euro-American world has equipped other parts of the globe with